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would have met the exigencies of the case? Nay, would not the very overture recently made by the Porte to grant full protection and unlimited liberty to all Christians in his dominions, have met the requirements of the Czar without endangering his own authority? It may be said, we know, that Russia employed her demands only as a pretext for a long-conceived and pre-determined aggression on Turkey, and would therefore, in spite of the treaty, have refused to accept arbitration. Even if it were so, still the existence of the treaty would have done good. For so bare-faced a refusal to abide by engagements solemnly and voluntarily incurred, would have put her so obviously and conspicuously in the wrong, and would have so completely torn off the disguise from her ambitious designs, as to leave her without the show of a defence against the public opinion of Europe.

COBDEN ON TURKEY.

In 1836, Richard Cobden published a work of much research to counteract a panic in England about supposed aggressions from Russia. A few extracts may be interesting and useful at the present crisis :—

Down to our own time, the Turks governed a territory so vast and fertile that, in ancient ages, it comprised Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Greece, Carthage, Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Epirus, and Armenia, besides other less renowned empires. From three of these states went forth, at various epochs, conquerors who vanquished and subjected the then entire known world. The present lamentable condition of this fine territory, so renowned in former times, arises from no change in the seasons, or defalcation of nature. It still stretches from 34 to 43 deg. north, within the temperate zone, and upon the same parallels of latitude as Spain, France, and all the best portion of the United States. "Mount Hæmus," says Malte Brun, "is still covered with verdant forests; the plains of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly yield abundant and easy harvests to the husbandman; a thousand ports and a thousand gulfs are observed on the coasts, peninsulas and islands. The calm billows of these tranquil seas still bathe the base of the mountains covered with vines and olive trees. But the populous and numerous towns mentioned by ancient writers, have been changed into deserts beneath a despotic government." All the authorities upon this country assure us that the soil of many parts of Turkey is more fruitful than the richest plains of Sicily. When grazed by the rudest plough, it yields a more abundant harvest than the finest fields between the Eure and the Loire, the granary of France. Mines of silver, copper and iron, are still existing, and salt abounds in the country. Cotton, tobacco and silk might be made the staple exports of this region, and their culture admits of almost unlimited extension throughout the Turkish territory; whilst some of the native wines are equal to those of Burgundy. Almost every species of tree flourishes in European Turkey. The heights on the Danube are clad with apple, pine, cherry and apricot trees; whole forests of these may be seen in Wallachia; and they cover the hills of Thrace, Macedonia and Epirus. The olive, orange, mastic, fig and pomegranate, the laurel, myrtle, and nearly all the beautiful and aromatic shrubs and plants, are natural to this soil. Nor, are the animal productions less valuable than those of vegetable life. The finest horses have been drawn from this quarter to improve the breeds of Western Europe; and the rich pastures of European Turkey are, probably, the best adapted in the world for rearing the largest growths of cattle and sheep.

That in a region so highly favored, the population should have retrograded, whilst surrounded by abundance ; that its wealth and industry should have been annihilated, and that commerce should be banished from those rivers and harbors that first called it into existence—must be accounted for by remembering that the finest soil, the most genial climate, or the brightest intellectual and physical gifts of human nature, are as nothing when subjected to the benumbing influences of the government of Constantinople.

We may fairly assume that, were Russia to seize upon the capital of Turkey, the consequences would not at least be less favorable to humanity and civilization, than those which succeeded to her conquests on the Gulf of Finland a century ago. The seraglio of the Sultan would be once more converted into the palace of a Christian monarch ; the lasciviousness of the harem would disappear at the presence of his Christian Empress ; those walls which now resound only to the voice of the eunuch and the slave, and witness nothing but deeds of guilt and dishonor, would then echo the footsteps of travelers, and the voices of learning, or behold the assemblage of high-souled and beautiful women, of exalted birth and rare accomplishments, the virtuous companion of ambassadors, tourists, and merchants, from all the capitals of Europe. We may fairly and reasonably assume that such consequences would follow the conquest of Constantinople ; and can any one doubt that, if the government of St. Petersburg were transferred to the shores of the Bosphorus, a splendid and substantial European city would, in less than twenty years spring up, in the place of those huts which now constitute the capital of Turkey ?—that public buildings would arise, learned societies flourish, and the arts prosper ?—that, from its natural beauties and advantages, Constantinople would become an attractive resort for civilized Europeans ?—that the Christian religion, operating instantly upon the laws and institutions of the country, would ameliorate the condition of its people ?—that the slave market which is now polluting the Ottoman capital, centuries after the odious traffic has been banished from the soil of Christian Europe, would be abolished ?—that the demoralizing and unnatural law of polygamy, under which the fairest portion of the creation becomes an object of brutal lust, and an article of daily traffic, would be discountenanced ?—and that the plague, no longer fostered by the filth and indolence of the people, would cease to ravage countries placed in the healthiest latitudes, and blessed with the finest climate in the world ? Can any rational mind doubt that these changes would follow from the occupation of Constantinople by Russia, every one of which, so far as the difference in the cases permitted, has already been realized more than a century in St. Petersburg ? But the interests of England, it is alleged, would be endangered by such changes. We deny that the progress of improvement, and the advance of civilization, can be inimical to the welfare of Great Britain. To assert that *we*, a commercial and manufacturing people, have an interest in retaining the fairest regions in Europe in barbarism and ignorance—that we are benefitted because poverty, slavery, polygamy and the plague abound in Turkey—is a fallacy too gross even for reflection.”

But, supposing that Russia were to seize the moment of her occupancy of Turkey to begin to build ships of war, and, by aid of Greek sailors, to man a fleet at Constantinople ; and presuming, moreover, that, having obtained violent possession of Norway, she were to employ similar means for erecting a naval power in the Baltic—let us then call the attention of our readers to the defenceless and dependent position in which her territory would be placed, owing to the peculiar geographical features of those quarters of the globe. The sole outlet for the waters of the sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, is by the Canal of the Dardanelles, called the Hellespont ; a passage whose navigable width scarcely exceeds two thousand yards for a length of nearly thirty miles. To blockade the entrance of this strait, would require that a

couple of ships of the line, a frigate, and a steamer, should be stationed at its mouth ; and with no larger force than this, might the egress of any vessel be prevented from the interior seas ; and not only so, but, as these four men-of-war would constitute, in the eyes of all foreign powers, and according to the law of nations, a sufficient blockade, they would deprive Constantinople and the whole Turkish empire of all foreign trade ; besides shutting out from the commerce of the Mediterranean Sea, and the rest of the world, the entire coast of the Euxine, and its thousands of miles of tributary rivers. If we now transfer our attention to the northern portions of the Russian Empire, we shall find that the passage of the Sound, which all the trade of the Baltic is compelled to pass, is scarcely less narrow than that of the Hellespont ; and, provided Russia had gained possession of the interior of these straits according to the supposition of the alarmist, then half a dozen ships of war might hermetically seal the whole of northern Europe against the trade of the world. In short, Russia, with the addition of Turkey, would possess but two outlets, each more contracted than the river Thames at Tilbury Fort ; and, as these could be declared in a lawful blockade by less than a dozen vessels of war, it is clear that nature herself has doomed Russia to be in a condition of the most abject and prostrate subjection to the will of the maritime powers. This is a point of paramount importance in estimating the future growth of the country under consideration. It should never be lost sight of for a moment, in arguing upon the subject, that Russia, in possession of Turkey and all the coasts of the Black Sea, besides her present stupendous expanse of territory, would still be denied, by the hand of nature herself, a navigation of more than three miles in width, to connect her millions of square leagues of territory with the rest of the globe—a peculiarity the more striking since it could not be found to exist in any other quarter of the earth. It is deserving of notice, that these two narrow straits which guard the entrances to the Black Sea, and the Baltic, are nearly six months sail distant from each other ; and the track by which alone they can communicate lying through the Straits of Dover and Gibraltar, it must be apparent that, were Russia mistress of these channels, she could not pass from one to the other, unless she were in amicable connection with Great Britain.

ITEMS ON FILLIBUSTERISM.

There is in our country a vast amount of the war spirit, asleep now in the repose of a most prosperous peace, but eager enough to be roused, and likely, when roused in earnest, to become well nigh uncontrollable, and to plunge our rulers into such wars as no man of sense or self-respect could justify on any principles. The lowest type of this spirit, found among the dregs of society, reckless politicians, and their rowdyish adherents, has got the name of *Fillibusterism* ; a vulgar, outlandish term, borrowed from buccaneers and brigands, but well fitted to designate the men and the measures it represents, and to foreshadow the lawless, infamous career to which it would fain lure or bully our government. We quote a specimen or two :—

THE SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF FILLIBUSTERISM.—“The reigns of royal lines,” says one of our fillibustering editors “must be bled until blood runs like rivers through the kingdoms. Robespierre once exclaimed, ‘alas, there is no hope for my unhappy country, until the last drop of blood is emptied from the veins of the nobility.’ The same truth applies to nearly all Europe of the present day. Those who are afraid of shedding blood, may fold their arms, and content themselves to see the people crushed forever under the wheels of tyranny. The machinery of civilization is so entirely physical, brute